1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

If a girl with absent lover sneezes frequently it is a sign she is loved. The girl will say to herself: "He loves me." In addition, if anyone sneezes it is regarded as a sign that someone is talking about the sneezer or that someone is in love with the sneezer, and a common comment of bystanders is, "Kuo ofa mai" (there is love for this one). Sneezing at times presages misfortune. Thus, if a woman making tapa sneezes and some one is very ill in her family at the time, it is a sign that the sick person will soon die. Sneezing when asleep is also an omen of death. If the sneezer lies on his right side, the death will be on the father's side of the family, if on his left side on the mother's side of the family, if on his back it is a sign of the sneezer's own death. The evil portent of sneezing on the eve of an important undertaking is well illustrated by Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 440).

Shadows seen in a cave called Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu, are portentous of either health or death. Upon entering this cave usually a number of shadows of the visitor is seen. If only one or three shadows appear, it is a sign that death is near to the one so shadowed; if two or four shadows appear, good health is assured. Shadows are not commonly ominous.

The appearance of an illuminated vessel at night was anciently, and still is, regarded as an omen of the death of a person of rank. Such a ghost vessel is called a *vakaloa*. In the first half of 1921 an illuminated "steamer" was seen off Lifuka Island a few nights prior to the arrival of the regular passenger steamer. It is said to have been seen by many people. It was probably a real steamer, but at any rate a few months later the ailing wife of the Governor of Haapai died. Mr. W. H. Murley relates that on the night previous to the death of Maealiuaki, the Governor of Haapai, a man called Osai and his wife were fishing on the island Uoleva (the adjoining island south of Lifuka) when suddenly they saw a sailing boat bearing up from the southeast and lighted with various colors. They waited to see no more and promptly fled into the bush.

Very loud thunder accompanied by much lightning presages war or other dire disaster. Thunder in December foretells the approach of the *o* fish. Thunder during a heavy windstorm which people apprehend might turn into a hurricane, is a sign that it will not. The last two statements seem to be in the nature of empirical observations rather than true omens. There was said to have been no individual who especially interpreted the thunder and lightning omens. An old poem refers to "thunder giving omen of war" and to Toutai (Navigator) Ula's "thunder from the west."

A land fog presages the death of a high chief. Such a fog is said to have preceded the death of the late king, George II. Murley, quoted above, mentions an ominous sea fog.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

amazed at the wisdom of the Papalangies, and he wished to visit them, that he might acquire a mind like theirs. The doctrine of the sun's central situation and the consequent revolution of the planets he thought so sublime, and so like what he supposed might be the ideas and inventions of a God, that he could not help believing it, although it was not quite clear to his understanding. What he seemed least to comprehend was how it happened that the antipodes did not fall into the sky below (as he expressed it), for he could not free his mind from the notion of absolute *up* and *down:* but he said he had no doubt, if he could learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that he should be able to comprehend it as easily as a Papalangi, for, he added, the minds of the Papalangies are as superior to the minds of the Tonga people as iron axes are superior to stone axes!—He did not, however, suppose that the minds of white people were essentially superior to the minds of others; but that they were more clear in consequence of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime.

One day as Mr. Mariner was sharpening an axe, and Finow was turning the grind-stone, the latter observed that the top of the stone was

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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not only always wet, but so replete with water that it was constantly flying off in abundance on the application of the axe; this on a sudden thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange that the superabundance of water should not run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner began his explanation, thus, "In consequence of the quick successive revolutions of the stone" —when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed (as if a new light had shot across his mind) "Now I understand why the antipodes do not "fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the "earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false explanation, and he himself soon saw that it was, much to his disappointment; but it shews the activity of his mind, and how eager it was to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

On another occasion they were returning to Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king had been to fetch some of his property, consisting chiefly of things which originally belonged to the officers of the Port au Prince: among others there was a box containing sundry small articles and a pocket compass; the latter he did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet examined. During the whole day it was nearly calm, and the paddles were for the most part used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 [823] [782]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [782]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sunrising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [778]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 191

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

771 spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.

776 2. The gods of Tonga may be divided into three classes.

779 (1) In common with other parts of Polynesia, their great gods comprise the two groups of the Tangaloa and the Maui (pronounced Mow-y: Mow as in *now*). The *Tangaloa* were the earlier group, and consisted of Tangaloa 'Eiki ('Lord Tangaloa,' or 'Tangaloa the Elder'), Tangaloa Tufunga ('Tangaloa the Smith, Carpenter, or Artificer,' who made axes and built canoes), and Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo ('Tangaloa the Sender-forth-of-sound'). The *Maui* group consisted of five persons: Maui Motu'a ('Old Maui,' or 'Maui the Father'), Maui Loa ('Maui the Tall'), Maui Buku ('Maui the Short'), and Maui 'Atalanga ('Maui the Vigorous Planter'). This last had a son called Maui Kijikiji (pronounced Kitaikitsi: 'Maui the Violent, the Mischievous'), who was, of course, the grandson of Maui Motu'a.

There were, however, older gods than any of these. One was called Tama-bo'uli-ala-mafoa ('Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn'). Some accounts represent him as the original deity. Another of the primitive gods was 'Eitu-matubu'a ('Eitu-of-the-olden-time'). He is spoken of as the father of the Tongan people. Another of these gods was Hikule'o, the Tongan Satan. *Hikule'o* means 'the echo,' and there is no doubt that this was the original signification of the name; but as it *might* mean 'Watching Tail,' the legend grew up that the tail of this deity was so long that when he, the god, went about, the tail kept watch
● [822] at home. But even now the Tongans, when they hear an echo, say it is Hikule'o walking in the woods; and the other explanation was evidently an afterthought.

These with others were the original gods of Tonga. By and by a division of departments took place. To the Tangaloa was assigned the Sky (or Heaven); to the Maui group the Under World; and to Hikule'o the World and Bulotu (Hades). But in order to keep Hikule'o in his place, as he was a god that delighted in mischief, a cord was attached to him, one end of which was held by Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by a Maui in the under world, to prevent his leaving Bulotu to damage the world. This division was effected by an older god than any, namely, Taufulifonua ('Frequent-Upsetter-of-the-land'), who also assigned the sea to Hemoana, and the woods and dry land generally to Lube (the Dove). Hemoana's name is sometimes pronounced Heimoana, and the present writer *believes* that Tongavalevale spoke of him as Hea-Moana, though he is unable to speak positively on that point. *Hea-Moana* would signify 'Hea-of-the-
[778] deep-sea'; *Hemoana* would be simply 'the Deep Sea' = Oceanus. His shrine was the banded sea-snake. These were the Olympian gods of Tonga; but, with the exception of Hikule'o, they were
[782] rarely worshipped, and few if any temples were erected in their honour. The exception is due to the fact that Hikule'o was a mischievous god, and must therefore be propitiated.

776 (2) The second class of gods were an inferior race,
778 who had their shrines in animals, birds, fishes,
779 trees, whales' teeth, clubs, and even stones. Yet these were the gods worshipped by the people, and their temples were to be found in every village. Here are a few of them: Tu'i 'Ahau ('King of the town of 'Ahau'), whose shrine was a volcanic stone of peculiar shape; Tu'i Lalotonga ('King of Rarotonga,' or perhaps of the world below Tonga), whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou (the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

[p. 376-B]

41: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1939
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151 it may be noted that Collins (*l.c.* 219–220) using
143 the fourth edition of the Ishihara test in which
125 Plates 10 and 11 appear to correspond to Plates
128 18 and 19 of the seventh edition, found that 4% of whites with normal colour-vision could read the hidden number in Plate 10 (18) and 27% could read the hidden number in Plate 11 (19). Collins regards the results for Plate 10 as distinctly curious and puzzling, but she believes that Plate 11 is proved to be an unsatisfactory test-plate. It may be noted that the 'deviant' normal Tongans all read all the four plates with equal ease.

822 In regard to general colour-discrimination,
[125] Tongan informants, male and female, were asked to name a series of colours in a colour chart. Specific colour names collected were: *hinehina*, cream or white; *tetea*, skin white: *felofelo*, yellow or gold; *enga* or *engeenga*, yellow; *kula*, red; *uliuli*, black. There is no specific colour-name for blue and possibly none for green either. The Tongans use many descriptive colour-names. To give a few examples: *lanu moana*, blue (*lanu*, colour, *moana*, sea); *lanu mata*, green; *panefunefu*, brown (dim, obscure, indistinct); *momea*, tan or buff (drab); *kupesi*, dark brown (stencil for making bark cloth); *loufusi*, deep green (banana leaf). Degrees of saturation are expressed by such qualifying words as *mama*, light, and *fakapo'opouli*, dark.

151 In view of colour-test results, the lack of a
822 specific colour-term for blue need not necessarily imply a poor discrimination for this colour, nor does the relatively poor Tongan colour-vocabulary necessarily connote weak colour-discrimination.[4] All informants were at pains to indicate that they had no difficulty in distinguishing clearly each of the colours in the colour chart. Their difficulty, they said, was simply one of finding words to
822 indicate clearly discriminated colours. Doubt-
182 less, as C. S. Myers has suggested,[5] colour names are formed where they are needed; where they are needless, they will not be formed, however great the sensibility of a people to specific colours. The Tongans seem to have developed sufficient colour terms adequately to control their

[113] [4] For a summary of the philological evidence and the theory based thereon, *see* Klineberg, Otto: *Race Differences*, New York, 1935, 142–144, and Clements, *l.c.* 420–422.

[113] [5] Myers, C. S.: 'Some Observations on the Development of the Colour Sense,' *Brit. J. Psych.*, 2, 1908, 361.

[p. 171-B]

41: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1939
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822
182

environment according to specific cultural needs. Where named discrimination was superfluous to further this control, the name was not used.[6] In terms of developing needs brought about by white

[6] This explanation would also appear adequate to explain the peculiarities in the colour-naming system of the Pukapukans, another Polynesian people. *See*

[P.172-A]

41: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1939
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822
182

contact, *ad hoc* descriptive words or phrases seem efficient enough as far as the average Tongan villager is concerned to satisfy a necessity for increasingly exact colour-discrimination.

Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl: 'Ethnology of Pukapuka,' *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 150, 1938, 356.

[P.172-B]

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

in the justice of this procedure, look'd on with seeming pleasure, and when I turn'd the fellow overboard, tho' there were at least 20 Canoes about, no one for a quarter of an hour wou'd take him up: I adher'd to this Plan, which tho' it did not abolish this confounded custom, it render'd it much less frequent. The Indians themselves so far saw the justice of it, that we had several instances of their detecting a Thief which had eluded the vigilance of our People, & bringing him to me with his stolen Goods; upon these Occasions I always liberally rewarded the Prosecutor & rewarded the Thief. I offerd abundance of fine Things if they wou'd return my Cats, but they were too fond of them, I found them irretrievable. Our general Trade at these Isles were Hatchets Nails, Knives, Looking-glasses, Beads, & sometimes a peice of red Cloth; the Blue & red Beads were what they most esteem'd, any other Colour they put very little Value upon.

Our Method was, whenever we went to an Island, one of the first things we did, was to look out for a convenient market Place; here we stationed our People who were adjudg'd to that duty, which were generally the Gunners of the 2 Ships, & here the Natives very regularly brought their Merchandize; sometimes they wou'd bring them to the Ships, where there were likewise people appointed to bargain with them. The Agee's frequently made us large presents of Yams, Hogs &c; this was pleasing, as it kept up that social appearance, which it was both our Inclination & Interest to maintain; but they were always in the End, by far the dearest Provision we got. Every place we went to was deficient in that important requisite, good Water, we got some at them all, but cou'd not denominate it good: at Anamooka it was rather brackish, at the Arpi Isles rather filthy, and at Amsterdam it was both; however it was all I believe very wholesome, for we found no bad effects from the use of any of it, we had no other, & our People were all very healthy, but it was not so palatable as we cou'd wish.

They tell us, that at Vow-Vow (which they say is a large Isle, laying N° of the Arpi Isles one days sail) there is a very good Harbour with a fine Stream of Water running into it;[1] they tell us too, that there's abundance of excellent Water at a Group of Isles, which they call Fidgi, which they say lie WNW 5 Days sail with a fair Wind from those they call the Arpi Isles where we were: five days sail for one of those Canoes is a great distance, they sail very fast; from all the Accounts I cou'd get, I shou'd conclude the distance about 200 Leagues. These Fidgi Men are the Masters of this part of the World; these People, own they beat and do as they please with them; they are very lavish in the praises of the Country; they say it abounds in every good thing, that the Women are very handsome, and the Men very good, if Friends, but if Enemies they are very devils; in short these our good Friends here, are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very good Terms. A Canoe came from Fidgi whilst we staid here; one peculiarity I observ'd in the Men, they had all the Grissle of the Ear cut out, so

[1] The reference may be to Neiafu, a deep and land-locked harbour,

181 /27 cont./
351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary. [577] Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans. This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
181 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can
805 almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious
794 services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
177 announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their [202] group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is, on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm